
The Trope *Gregorius presul meritis* in Bohemian Tradition: Its Origins, Development, Liturgical Function and Illustration.

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Utraquism was scrupulously faithful in its transmission of the *Latin* liturgical texts of the Prague Use of the Roman rite. This faithfulness can be traced throughout the course of Utraquism, from its beginnings in the first quarter of the fifteenth century until its disappearance after the defeat of the Bohemian Estates at Bilá Hora.¹ So faithful, in fact, was Utraquism in transmitting the inherited Latin liturgical texts that, of the extant graduals produced before 1490, it is often not possible to know whether a book was made for *sub una* or *sub utraque* use unless both the specific church in which the gradual was used can be identified as well as whether that church followed Sub-unist or Utraquist use at the time of the manuscript's creation. With the exception of the feast of St. Jan Hus, the Latin eucharistic propers for both the *temporale* and the *sanctorale* were identical for both Utraquists and Sub-unists.² This is entirely in keeping with Utraquism's insistence on the importance of maintaining what it believed to be "catholic tradition".

This fidelity in maintaining what was understood to be "catholic tradition", however, also gave Utraquism a certain liturgical antiquarianism in which some practices that had otherwise disappeared from the Western liturgy were retained in Utraquist practice.³ This article will study the text *Gregorius presul* (along with the other liturgical texts for Advent Sunday that became associated with it) as an interesting and little known example of such a liturgical vestige. We have applied to it our individual disciplines (liturgy [Holeton], musicology [Vlhová-Wörner], and art history [Bílková]) to trace developments in the liturgical use of a text which, from its

¹ This can be seen in the case of the graduals in Barry F. H. Graham, *Bohemian and Moravian Graduals (1420-1620)* (Turnhout, 2007) 33 and in the presentation of the liturgical texts themselves in: *ibid.* *The Litoměřice Gradual of 1517* [Monumenta Liturgica Bohemica I] (Prague, 1999).

² From the 1490s, when the earliest extant graduals containing the proper texts for the feast of St. Jan Hus appear, the Utraquist provenance of some texts is readily identified, but there are also many graduals that can be identified as Utraquist but which do not contain the feast of Hus.

³ Late-mediaeval Bohemian liturgical tradition was somewhat antiquarian well before the appearance of Utraquism. The fourteenth-century establishment of the Prague Use under Arnošt of Pardubice saw the introduction of pieces that had long fallen out of general European use (see: *Tropi Proprii Missae* Hana Vlhová-Wörner ed. [Repertorium troporum Bohemiae medii aevi I] [Prague, 2004] 42). The ongoing use of a rich repertoire of prose (or sequences) long after the Missal of Pius V had reduced their number to four for general Western use is, perhaps, the most striking example of Utraquism's liturgical conservatism until its very end.

origins, constituted a liturgical anomaly. We will see how a rubric that attributed the composition of the Gradual as a liturgical book to Gregory the Great (+604) became, over time, a sung liturgical text performed with great solemnity on Advent Sunday.

I

The Development of Liturgical Books

In order to understand the attribution of the Gradual as a liturgical book to Gregory the Great, it is important to review briefly the genesis and evolution of Roman liturgical books: first the sacramentary and, then, the gradual.⁴ The emergence of these liturgical books marks one stage in the long process of the creation and evolution of liturgical texts – an evolution that led from the freedom to extemporise liturgical texts to the emergence of fixed formulae.

Liturgical life in the early centuries of Christianity was characterised by the liberty of the presider at the Eucharist (usually the bishop) to improvise the eucharistic prayer and the other variable prayers of the Eucharist.⁵ These prayers, while based on a fairly fixed typology for each type of prayer, were prayed extemporaneously according to the ability of the presider and were not written down. Over time, concerns with the importance of the theological orthodoxy of liturgical texts, increasing preoccupation with their literary elegance and the replacement of an oral culture with a written one saw this freedom to extemporise give way to the normative use of written liturgical texts.

The fifth and sixth centuries witnessed an increasing codification of knowledge. Much of what had been transmitted orally in all areas of human knowledge came to be recorded – liturgical texts included. The most beautiful prayers from the best known of figures associated with the liturgy came to be written down while, at the same time, new sets of prayers for particular liturgical occasions were also created and recorded. In the former case, eucharological treasures of the past continued to live in contemporary liturgical use and, in the latter, the orthodoxy and literary style of the prayers could be assured. In both cases, the prayers were “read” (i. e. sung) rather than extemporised or recited from memory.

⁴ The most important histories of the development of the Roman liturgical books are to be found in Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources* revised and translated by William G. Storey and Niels Krogh Rasmussen (Washington, 1986) (the critical apparatus in the original French version *Introduction aux sources de l'histoire du culte chrétien au moyen âge* [Biblioteca degli « Studi medievali » I] (Spoleto, n. d. [1965]) is notoriously unreliable) and Eric Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books* (Collegeville MN, 1998) 35-55. See also Jean Deshusses, “Les sacramentaires. État actuel de la recherche,” *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 24 (1982) 19-46 or its English translation: “The Sacramentaries: A Progress Report,” *Liturgy* 18,1 (Cistercians of the Strict Observance, KY, 1984) 13-60.

⁵ See: R. P. C. Hanson, “The Liberty of the Bishop to Improvise Prayer in the Eucharist,” *Vigiliae Christianae* 15,3 (1969) 173-176; Allan Bouley, *From Freedom to Formula: The Evolution of the Eucharistic Prayer from Oral Improvisation to Written Texts* (Washington, 1981).

Initially, these sets of prayers (in Rome, the variable prayers of the Eucharist ranged from three to five in number according to where they were used and by whom) were composed for a specific liturgy – probably by the person who was to preside at the celebration – and written on a few pages of parchment, a *libellus*. Over time, these individual sets of propers were gathered into small collections (*libelli missarum*) so that they could be either re-used in the liturgy or drawn on as resources for others preparing the liturgy. Later, larger collections were assembled. Perhaps the largest collection of these *libelli* is to be found in a unique manuscript known as the Leonine Sacramentary or Veronese.⁶ This codex is clearly an archival collection of texts intended to be drawn upon as a resource by those composing liturgical texts for their own use and was never intended to be used as a liturgical book.⁷ Other collections (later known as the Gelasian and the Gregorian) gathered these *libelli* into liturgical books for actual use. It is collections of this type that, in Rome, first came to be called sacramentaries: *Liber sacramentorum*, *sacramentarium* / *sacramentorium*. These sacramentaries contained only the liturgical material needed by the presiding bishop or priest and not material (e. g. readings, chants) needed by other ministers.

The Sacramentary

There are two basic types of these primitive Roman sacramentaries: the (Old) Gelasian and the (Old) Gregorian. Unlike the archival accumulation we find in the Leonine, these are works that were carefully and thoughtfully organised for actual liturgical use. The (Old) Gelasian⁸ is a presbyterial book containing all that would be needed for a presbyter presiding in a Roman titular or parish church. Misattributed by the manuscript's first editor, Cardinal (now Saint) Giuseppi Tomasi to Gelasius I (492-96) on the basis that Gelasius is credited with the composition of a

⁶ *Sacramentarium Veronese* ed. Leo Cunibert Mohlberg [Rerum Ecclesiasticum Documenta Series Maior Fontes I] (Rome, 1966).

⁷ Misattributed to Leo the Great in 1735 by Giuseppi Bianchini, the manuscript's first editor, the celebrated liturgist, Joseph Aloysius Assemani, attempted to rectify this erroneous attribution in 1749 by calling the text the *Sacramentorum veronese* after its unique witness held in the Capitular Library in Verona. This is also a misnomer as the manuscript is not Veronese in origin but a Veronese copy of an earlier, now lost, manuscript of undoubted Roman origin – perhaps emanating from the Lateran itself. The manuscript is a large collection of *libelli missae* with the *temporale* and *sanctorale* intercalated on the basis of the civil calendar rather than the liturgical year. The beginning of the manuscript is lost and what remains runs from April to December. The *libelli* are collected in such quantity (the largest being twenty-eight formularies for Sts. Peter and Paul and fourteen for St. Lawrence) that it is unmanageable for actual liturgical use but later notations within the text indicate that its prayers were drawn on in the composition of books intended for liturgical use and can be found in later redactions of other sacramentaries. Hence, the Leonine is hardly a sacramentary. While the Dom Mohlberg, the manuscript's most recent editor, retained the Veronese ascription as the title of his edition, the text is presently known as the Leonine.

⁸ *Liber sacramentorum Romanae Aecclesiae ordinis anni circuli* (Cod. Vat. Reg. Lat. 316/Paris Bibl. nat. 7193, 41/56) (*Sacramentarium Gelasianum*) Leo Eizenhöfer and Leo Cunibert Mohlberg edd. [Rerum Ecclesiasticarum documenta. Series maior: Fontes, 4] (Rome, 1960). While usually known as the Gelasian, the text must be kept distinct from the Eighth-Century (or Frankish) Gelasians which are hybrid Romano-Frankish texts.

sacramentary in the *Liber pontificalis*,⁹ the text is not, in fact, the work of Gelasius but that of an anonymous compiler probably working in the mid-seventh century.

The other “classic” Roman sacramentary, and the one which concerns us here, is the Gregorian of which there are no extant manuscript witnesses to the text in its original form. The general opinion has been that the original Gregorian sacramentary was a liturgical book intended for the exclusive use of the pope and contained liturgical material for the limited number of days during the year when the bishop of Rome was the intended presider at the liturgy.¹⁰ It was unsuitable for the celebration of the liturgy in a parish church where liturgical material for all the Sundays and feasts of the year is needed. As with the Leonine and Gelasian sacramentaries, the text was not the work of the pope whose name it bears but, rather, was a collection compiled after Gregory’s death, perhaps during the pontificate of Honorius I (625-638) although there is general agreement among liturgists that the original text did contain some formulae composed by Gregory I.¹¹

The descendants we have of this original Gregorian sacramentary are of three types: the *Hadrianum* or Type I Gregorian,¹² the *Paduense* or Type II Gregorian,¹³ and a pre-Hadrianic Gregorian.¹⁴ Type I Gregorians remain faithful to the origin of the sacramentary as a book intended for papal liturgies. The one witness to Type II has been supplemented so that it contains liturgical material making it usable for parochial use. The pre-Hadrianic Gregorian, also with but one witness, is a book composed about 685 and reveals the development of the book before the time of Sergius I whose liturgical reforms influenced the Type I Gregorians. Like the

⁹ *Liber pontificalis* 51,6 “...fecit etiam et sacramentorum praefationes et orationes cauto sermone...”

¹⁰ Jean Deshusses, the modern editor of the Gregorian, is the first scholar who has challenged the fundamental papal character of the sacramentary suggesting that there is nothing in the book that would lead an unprejudiced eye to believe that the book was a composition realised by or for a pope or that a sacramentary was actually used by the pope in the seventh century. Instead, he suggests that the book was used by those delegated to preside in the pope’s stead (an hebdomidary bishop or even a presbyter) when the pope was forced to be absent. Deshusses, “Grégoire et le sacramentaire grégorien,” in: *Grégoire le Grand* (Paris, 1986) 640; 642.

¹¹ Dom Henry Ashworth “The Liturgical Prayers of St. Gregory the Great.” *Traditio* 15 (1959) 107–62 has thoroughly demonstrated the tenuous basis a Gregorian attribution although here and in a subsequent article (ibid. “Further parallels to the ‘Hadrianum’ from St. Gregory the Great’s commentary on the first book of Kings,” *Traditio* 16 [1960] 364-373) sets out to demonstrate that Gregory is probably the author of eighty-four of the 1018 liturgical pieces in the *Hadrianum*. Deshusses, (“Grégoire et le sacramentaire grégorien,” 640-1) challenges Ashworth’s findings but agrees that some of the collects may be drawn from a collection known to be of Gregorian authorship. It may well be on the basis of this incorporation of Gregorian prayers into the original “Gregorian” Sacramentary that Gregory’s name had come to be associated with the sacramentary as a whole.

¹² *Le sacramentaire grégorien. Ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits* ed. Jean Deshusses [Spicilegium Friburgense 16] (Fribourg, 1971) 85-348.

¹³ *Liber sacramentorum paduensis* (Padova, Biblioteca Capitolare, cod D 47) edd. Alceste Catella, Ferdinando Dell’Oro, and Aldo Martini [Biblioteca «Ephemierides Liturgicae» Subsidia 131; Monumenta Italiae Liturgica 3] (Rome, 205).

¹⁴ *Monumenta Liturgica Ecclesiae Tridentinae, saeculo XIII antiquiora*, II, A *Fontes Liturgici, Libri Sacramentorum* (Trent, 1985) 73-310.

Gregorians of the first type, it contains material only for liturgies at which the bishop of Rome¹⁵ was to be the intended presider.

Gregory as Author of a Sacramentary

Unlike the Leonine and Gelasian sacramentaries whose appellations are of relatively modern origin, there was a long-standing tradition that credited Gregory the Great with the sacramentary that bears his name. In the British Isles, the Venerable Bede reports that when Gregory sent Augustine on his mission to Kent, he brought Roman liturgical texts with him. While they were not, in fact, Gregorian compositions, his name came to be associated with the Roman liturgical tradition in Anglo-Saxon England. We also know that Benedict Biscop (c. 628-690), Abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow, made five pilgrimages to Rome returning home to his northern English monastery with Roman liturgical books along with John the Arch-chanter of Rome so that the abbey could celebrate the liturgy in the Roman manner. A letter of Egbert of York (735-6) attributes Gregorian authorship to the sacramentary and antiphonal in use in England at that time. Shortly thereafter, the Council of Clovesho (747) ordered that the Roman Use, based on the “books received from Rome” be obligatory in the Anglo-Saxon church.

Across the Channel, Pepin the Short and his son Charlemagne saw the imposition of the Roman rite and its replacement of the native Gallican rite as one means to secure political unity within their newly-united realms. Pepin’s attempt to impose the Roman rite involved the circulation of a Gallicanised version of the Old Gelasian (which was, itself, influenced by a pre-Hadrianic version of the Gregorian sacramentary that had earlier made its way to the Frankish realms) but its introduction was not accompanied by the political will necessary to assure the uniform imposition of the Roman liturgy throughout his realms. Charlemagne saw liturgical unification as a crucial instrument in achieving his goal of a united realm in which a common liturgy was to be the keystone. Renewing his father’s less-than-successful efforts, somewhere between 784 and 791 Charlemagne asked Hadrian I to send him a Roman sacramentary. This Hadrian did, choosing from the Lateran library what he believed to be an example of the authentic sacramentary of St. Gregory and confirming the codex to be such in his accompanying letter. This sacramentary, which has come to be known as the *Hadrianum*, was lodged in the royal library at Aachen where it was duly copied for use throughout the realm. Each copy was inscribed with a mark of authentication – *Ex authentico libro bibliothecae cubiculi scriptum* – which was scrupulously used in copies of manuscripts made in the royal scriptorium along with this Gregorian attribution:

IN NOMINE DOMINI
HIC LIBER SACRAMENTORUM DE CIRCULO ANNI EXPOSITIO
A SANCTO GREGORIO PAPA ROMANO EDITUM
EX AUTHENTICO LIBRO BIBLIOTHECAE CUBICULI
SCRIPTUM¹⁶

¹⁵ Or, to follow Deshusses, a delegate of the Bishop of Rome.

This is clearly a Frankish addition to the text (as can be seen by the denotation *papa Romano*) and was *not* a part of the manuscript that was sent from Rome. (The original text began simply with the proper for the vigil of Christmas and without any sort of attribution of authorship.)The attribution was based on the letter from Hadrian which accompanied the text in which he expresses his own belief in the Gregorian authorship of the text, a belief clearly founded on reputation rather than literary evidence.¹⁷

What Hadrian had sent, in fact, was an eighth-century version of the Type I Gregorian Sacramentary. There was clearly some consternation in Aachen when Charlemagne's clerks realised that the book they had received was a sacramentary for use in the papal liturgy and not one for parochial use. As such, the *Hadrianum* immediately proved to be of limited liturgical use for Charlemagne's intended purposes of liturgical unification in the churches of the Frankish realms as it did not contain much of the liturgical material needed for the complete cycle of the liturgical year – e. g. it was missing propers for all the Sundays after Pentecost, i. e. for almost half the Sundays of the liturgical year and contained none of the propers for the commemoration of Gallic saints. The book needed to be supplemented if it were to be of any real use in Charlemagne's programme of liturgical unification. These missing propers were supplied around 810-815 by Benedict of Aniane (c. 750-821), an important force in Charlemagne's ecclesiastical reforms.¹⁸ This *Supplement* was appended to the *Hadrianum* and duly headed with a rubric beginning *hucusque* (up to this point) which included a second Gregorian attribution as well as a rationale for the supplement:

HUCUSQUE PRAECEDENS SACRAMENTORUM LIBELLUS A BEATO PAPA GREGORIO
CONSTAT EDITUS ... SED QUIA SUNT ET ALIA QUAEDAM, QUIBUS NECESSARIO
SANCTA UTITUR ECCLESIA QUAE IDEM PATER AB ALIIS IAM EDITA ESSE INSPICIENS
PRAETERMISSIT ...¹⁹

¹⁶ "In the Name of the Lord. This sacramentary, arranged according to the annual cycle, was published by Pope St. Gregory. This copy was written in a room of the library from the authentic book."

¹⁷ Dom Henry Ashworth "The Liturgical Prayers of St. Gregory the Great." *Traditio* 15 (1959) 107–62 has thoroughly shown the tenuous basis of Gregorian attribution although here and in subsequent articles (ibid. "Further parallels to the 'Hadrianum' from St. Gregory the Great's commentary on the first book of Kings," *Traditio* 16 [1960] 364-373) he demonstrates that Gregory is probably the author of ten of the 1018 liturgical pieces in the *Hadrianum*. It may well be on the basis of this incorporation of Gregorian prayers into the original "Gregorian" Sacramentary that Gregory's name had come to be associated with the sacramentary as a whole.

¹⁸ The *Supplement* was once attributed to Alcuin of York, a member of Charlemagne's court and known liturgist, but liturgists now attribute the work to Benedict, a major collaborator in the Charlemagne's attempts to reform the church. See Jean Deshusses, "Le supplément au sacramentaire grégorien: Alcuin ou saint Benoît d'Aniane?" *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 9 (1965) 48-71.

¹⁹ "Up to this point the present sacramentary is the work of the blessed pope Gregory ... Since there are other liturgical materials which Holy Church finds herself obliged to use but which the aforesaid Father omitted because he knew they had already been produced by other people ...

Even with the *Supplement*, however, the book proved inadequate for the liturgical needs of the Frankish church and continued to be supplemented with additional texts drawn from both the Gelasian Sacramentary of the eighth century (a hybrid document containing both Roman and Gallican prayers) as well as other texts of Gallican origin. In the course of this on-going development, the Gregorian attributions found in the original copies of the *Hadrianum* and the *Hadrianum* with the *Supplement* dating from the eighth and ninth centuries were omitted from the newly transcribed copies of the increasingly hybrid text. By the eleventh century, there was no longer any need to transcribe the sacramentary at all as it had been replaced in liturgical use by the *missale plenum* – a book which also contained the readings and chants for the Eucharist. Thus Gregory, as “author” of the Sacramentary passed from living memory in the liturgical transmission of the book for the presider of the Eucharist in the Early Middle Ages.

The Roman Antiphonary for Mass and Its Gregorian Attribution

While the Sacramentary contained the prayers to be used by the bishop or presbyter presiding at the Eucharist, the Antiphonary contained the texts to be sung by the choir: the Gradual and its corresponding psalm, the Tract, the Alleluia and its verse, the Offertory and the Communion antiphons. All these musical texts have their origins in the liturgy as celebrated in the Roman basilicas. In Roman use,²⁰ the chants were gathered into three books, the *Cantatorium*, the *Responsoriale*, and the *Antiphonarius*. In the Frankish church, however, there was but one book containing all the necessary texts that were to be sung at the Eucharist.²¹ This book was known as the *Graduale*, the name being derived from the *gradus* or steps of the ambo where the cantor stood to sing the texts between the Epistle and Gospel.

The Roman Antiphonary and Responsorial were introduced into the Frankish Kingdom as a part of Pepin the Short’s attempt to impose the Roman liturgy on his realm. As with the Sacramentary, the mediaeval tradition held that it was Gregory the Great who had composed a *liber antiphonarius* to be used by the *scola cantorum* at the Eucharist. This tradition, which has its roots in a biography of Gregory written by John the Deacon (825-880),²² was probably motivated by the need of the Carolingian reform for an unquestionable authority behind each of the liturgical texts it wished to impose. As there is no evidence of any attribution of a *liber antiphonarius* to Gregory for over two centuries after the alleged author’s death, John’s attribution is not given historical credence by contemporary scholars. Such historical cares, however, were of little import in the middle ages and the Gregorian attribution went unquestioned for centuries.

²⁰ Antoine Chavasse, “La formation de l’*Antiphonale missarum*,” *Bulletin du Comité des Études de Saint-Sulpice* 32 (1961) 29-41.

²¹ Amalar of Metz, *Liber de ordine antiphonarii*, Prologus 17 in: *Amalarii Episcopi Opera Liturgica Omnia* ed. Jean Michel Hanssens [Studi e Testi 138-140] (Vatican, 1948) 1,363.

²² John the Deacon, *Vita Gregorii* 2:6; PL 75: 90.

The text *Gregorius presul*, composed around the year 800 and attributing authorship of the Gradual to Gregory, was inscribed at the beginning of the text before the propers for Advent Sunday.²³

Gregorius presul meritis et nomine dignus
unde genus ducit, summum conscendit honorem,
renovavit monumenta patrum priorum,
tunc composuit hunc libellum musicae artis
scolae cantorum anni circulo eia
paraphonista dic cum psalmista.²⁴

Sometime during the eighth-ninth century²⁵ this text came to be noted and sung as a memento of the one who was believed to have been responsible for the actual musical tradition of the church.

Like the Gregorian attribution in the Sacramentary, over time the attribution *Gregorius presul* in the Gradual also ceased to be transcribed and, after 1100, had virtually disappeared from new graduals *except in Bohemia* where the text came to take on an independent life and formed a part of the rich liturgical life that characterised the Prague use of the Roman rite.

II.

The Trope *Gregorius presul* in Bohemian tradition

The chant *Gregorius presul meritis* can be found in numerous Bohemian liturgical sources from the beginning of the fourteenth century well into the sixteenth century.²⁶ Probably the oldest extant source comes from the principal church of

²³ Unlike the Gregorian Sacramentary which followed the ancient Roman custom of beginning the liturgical year with the Vigil of Christmas, the Graduale followed the Gallican custom which began the liturgical year with Advent.

²⁴ Gregory, church leader by merits and dignified by name, ascending to the highest honour, renewed the monuments of earlier Fathers and composed this little book of musical art for the school of singers for the cycle of the year. Translation Gunilla Iversen, "Gregorius presul," in: *Sapientia et Eloquentia*, Nicholas Bell ed. (forthcoming).

²⁵ The early history of this attribution is traced by Bruno Stäblein, "'Gregorius Praesul' der Prolog zum römischen Antiphonale," in: *Musik und Verlag* Richard Baum and Wolfgang Rehm edd., (Kassel, Basel &c., 1968) 537-561. Stäblein, 547 lists MS Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare 490 (central Italy, perhaps Lucca, 8th-9th c.) as the oldest witness to the text.

²⁶ A short list of sources of Bohemian origin containing the trope *Gregorius presul* is included in the catalogue of late trope sources by Andreas Haug: *Troparia tardiva. Repertorium später Tropenquellen aus dem deutschsprachigen Raum* [Monumenta monodica medii aevi – Subsidia, I] (Kassel, 1995) particularly 83–86. For the edition of the trope along with the introit *Ad te levavi* from selected Bohemian sources see Hana Vlhová-Wörner (ed.): *Repertorium troporum Bohemiae medii aevi I – Tropi proprii Missae* [hereafter, RTB I] 60-1 and 95-102.

Prague Diocese, St. Vitus's Cathedral. Remarkably, this source is not a Missal or Gradual as one might expect, but a Breviary. It includes – in accordance with Prague Cathedral Use – detailed rubrics for both Office and Mass.²⁷ Here, the rubric introducing *Gregorius presul* is rather short in comparison with more extended descriptions in the late-fourteenth-century sources [see Example 1]. Nevertheless, it indicates the exceptional position of this chant within the liturgy of Advent Sunday at the Cathedral, specifying the place where it should be sung (*in pulpito*) and designating that trained singers (*cantores*) were charged with its performance.

Example 1: Breviary PrM XIV D 9, f. 1r

Accessus cantatur a cantoribus in pulpito ante introitum Gregorius presul.
(f. 1r)

A second source from the beginning of the fourteenth century – a notated *Missale Plenum* from the village of Načeradec²⁸ – is the oldest musical witness of this chant in the Bohemian tradition. We learn two important facts from it. First, it provides evidence of the presence of *Gregorius presul* in the liturgical Use of Prague Diocese – which was not identical to that of the Cathedral Use in every detail. Secondly, the designation of *Gregorius presul* as an “*Antiphona*” in the introductory rubric indicates that something exceptional happened with the understanding and performance of this chant in the Bohemian tradition. As an antiphon, usually attached to a Psalm or to a part of a Psalm, and, as such, an autonomous chant, it would have had an entirely different function within the liturgy than would a trope which would have been understood as an “enlargement” or “enrichment” of the traditional introit chant (in this case, *Ad te levavi*). This is certainly not a scribal error, as the chant *Gregorius presul* is completed by a so-called *differencia* (E-U-O-U-A-E) specifying the melody (the Mode) which should be used for the performance of the Psalm.

There is no doubt that these earliest Bohemian witnesses, dating from the beginning of the fourteenth century, represent only a late stage in the transmission of *Gregorius presul* in the Prague liturgy. Because it is at this very time the tradition of including this chant at the beginning of the mass for Advent Sunday disappeared almost completely from the European liturgical repertory outside Bohemia (with some exceptions which will be noted below).²⁹ Thus, it seems rather unlikely that Prague would incorporate this chant as a new element in its liturgy at such a late stage in the chant's liturgical history. On the contrary, it is more probable to assume that the trope was received from the adjacent western regions, along with the basic mass repertory, in the earliest period, that is, the eleventh century at the latest.

²⁷ MS Prague KNM XIV D 9, f. 1r. The St. Vitus's breviaries are often a mixture of a “Breviary” and a “*Liber ordinarius*”.

²⁸ MS. Načeradec, Obecní úřad (City Hall) sine signatura, f. 14r.

²⁹ For a complete list of sources and the critical edition of the trope on *Gregorius presul* in the European tradition outside Bohemia see *Corpus troporum I – Tropes du propre de la messe* 1. Cycle de Noël, ed. Ritva Jonsson [Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis – Studia Latina Stockholmiensia XXI] (Stockholm, 1976)102

Unfortunately, we cannot support this theory from the sources as there are no extant manuscript witnesses to the representative mass repertory for Prague Use dating from before 1300. However, the text as known from Bohemian sources shows some typical variants common to eleventh-century manuscripts from St Emmeram in Regensburg and Hersfeld (near Fulda).³⁰ Such a constellation can surely be regarded as sufficiently indicative to allow speculation about the earlier transmission of *Gregorius presul* from the west (most probably Regensburg diocese) to Prague.

There remains the question of the somewhat unusual development of the use of this chant within the Prague liturgy. Missals from St Vitus's dating from the second half of the fourteenth century which contain more informative rubrics can bring some initial answers. They reveal the rather sophisticated shape of the Advent Sunday liturgy in Prague cathedral and the background to the distinctive shift in the liturgical function of *Gregorius presul* itself. The rubric in the so-called Missal of Bishop Jan of Dražice from the middle of the fourteenth century³¹ informs us that the "antiphon" *Gregorius presul* should be sung from the pulpit by two [cantors] before the introit (*ante introitum*). Only after that, should the introit (*Ad te levavi*) itself be intoned:

Example 2: Missale PrM XIII B 9, f. 90r

Dominica prima. Ante introitum super pulpitem in medio chori a duobus cantatur hec

antiphona Gregorius presul. Inmediante precentores incipiunt introitum Ad te levavi.

There is a clear division between the two chants which had been firmly connected in the older tradition: the introit *Ad te levavi* and its "trope" *Gregorius presul*. Here, the latter stands as an autonomous chant, designated as an "antiphon", and is to be performed from a prominent place in the Cathedral (*in medio chori*) and it is even separated from the mass liturgy, as the rubricator choose the formulation *ante introitum* rather than *ad introitum* which is usually used to introduce the mass in Prague sources. The scribe also found it necessary to note that the precentors should begin the Introit immediately (*inmediante*) after *Gregorius presul* possibly wanting to prevent the introduction of a long gap between the two chants. As contemporary notated sources show, for example in the representative Gradual of

³⁰ MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14322, Gradual from Regensburg – Sankt Emmeram (eleventh century) and MS Kassel, Murhardsche Bibliothek, ms. 4° theol. 25, Gradual from Hersfeld (eleventh century). For variants in these manuscripts see *Corpus troporum* I (as n. 4) and RTB I, 61.

³¹ MS Prague, KNM XIII B 9. The manuscript consists of two parts. only one of them, which includes eucharistic prefaces and the canon of the mass, can be dated to the period of the last Prague bishop Jan of Dražice († 1343). The newer part, with the mass formularies for the whole liturgical year along with the text of *Gregorius presul*, must be dated after 1355, thus, from the period of the first archbishop Arnošt of Pardubice (1343–1364). (see my catalogue of the liturgical sources from St. Vitus's Cathedral: Hana Vihová: *Středověké liturgické rukopisy z katedrály sv. Víta na Pražském hradě* [Medieval liturgical manuscripts from St. Vitus's Cathedral at Prague Castle] Diss. Charles University, Prague, 2000).

Archbishop Arnošt of Pardubice dating from the 1360s, this could easily happen.³² There, *Gregorius presul* and *Ad te levavi* both appear at the beginning of the manuscript with the trope *Gregorius presul* on f. 1r covering only a half of the page with the rest of the page remaining blank. The introit *Ad te levavi* starts only on the next (reverse!) page (1v) and is introduced with the famous illumination of Arnošt of Pardubice in the letter **A**[*d te levavi*] [Fig. 1].³³ The repertory of the Gradual – and thus of the whole liturgical year – begins without doubt here, while the trope *Gregorius presul* remains somewhat isolated from the rest of the book – there is no indication of any connection between it and the introit chant that follows. Arnošt's Gradual is by no means the only example of such a strange division. In another Cathedral source, the Missal from the turn of the fourteenth and the fifteenth century PrM XVI D 16,³⁴ the chant *Gregorius presul* stands completely detached from the texts for the Mass Proper and thus from the Introit *Ad te levavi*. It is written among the incipits of Ordinary chants (mostly *Kyrie* and *Gloria*) at the beginning of the manuscript (f. 1r). Its rubric (*Ascendentes pulpitem cantent ante introitum*) stresses again that *Gregorius presul* represents a chant **b e f o r e** and not **t o** the introit. We can follow the same astonishing division even in the sixteenth century. Identical to the layout of Arnošt's Gradual is the inscription in the Gradual written in Prague around 1500 for the Jagellonian Court in Esztergom,³⁵ which presents *Gregorius presul* and *Ad te levavi* on two separate pages (10v and 11r).³⁶ Again, there is no indication that these two chants should be understood as two parts of one item. If the singers were to proceed smoothly from one chant to another, this surely would have to be noted in the rubrics of the relevant liturgical books, as we can see in the Prague missals.

Concerning the ceremonial function of *Gregorius presul*, the Cathedral missals from the turn of the fourteenth and the fifteenth century are even more illuminating. As representatives of the Prague liturgy after the so-called "liturgical reforms" of Prague's first Archbishop, Arnošt of Pardubice, they usually contain the most detailed descriptions of all important ceremonies, including those at the beginning of the liturgical year on Advent Sunday.³⁷ The chant *Gregorius presul* appears here again as a part of a larger and, as it seems, even more elaborate ceremony [see Example 3]:

³² MS Prague, Archive of the Prague Castle, collection of the Library of the Metropolitan Chapter at St. Vitus, P VII, see also Haug, *Troparia tardiva*, No. 104, p. 84–85, Jana Vozková: "Graduale Arnesti, P VII," MM 37 (2003) 269–283 and RTB I, 161–2, *passim*.

³³ For a facsimile see: *Československá vlastivěda*. IX: Umění, fascicle 3 Hudba (Prague, 1971) 39. See also Hana Jana Hlaváčková, "Die Illumination der liturgischen Handschriften des Arnestus von Pardubice," MM 37 (2003) 47–62.

³⁴ MS Prague KNM XVI D 16; see RTB I, 1r and Plate VII.

³⁵ MS Esztergom, Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár [Metropolitan Library] I. 3. See Polycarpus Radó, *Libri liturgici manuscripti bibliothecarum Hungariae et limitropharum regionum* (Budapest, 1973) No. 172.

³⁶ See Haug, *Troparia tardiva*, No. 100 and RTB I, 159–160.

³⁷ There is a possibility that the Missals in question (e. g. the missal from the Library of the National Museum, MS XIV A 16, the missal from the Archive of the Prague Castle – Chapter Library at St. Vitus's, MS P IV and the missal from Olomouc, University library MS 376 reflect the shape of the liturgy as formulated within the so-called liturgical reforms of the first Archbishop Arnošt of Pardubice. There are no known missals of this period from St. Vitus's Cathedral. The missal which formed part of Arnošt's famous collection of *editio typica* has not survived.

Example 3

Missale PrA P IV, f. 8r

(...) *In introitu ecclesie antiphona Bethleem non es minima. Post hec fit sermo ad populum.*

Deinde duo presbyteri ascendentes pulpitem cantant antiphonam Gregorius presul [etc.]

Quia finita cantores incipiant introitum ad missam ut sequitur. Ad te levavi [etc.].

Being a Sunday, the first Advent mass was preceded by a longer procession both inside and outside the church. At the end, the procession returned to the church during the singing of the antiphon *Bethleem non es minima* whose text anticipates the coming of Christmas (this would be repeated on each Sunday of Advent). After the antiphon, a sermon should follow. This part of the rubric is of particular interest as it is as the unique rubrical witness to the inclusion of preaching in the liturgy at St Vitus's Cathedral. The sermon is addressed *ad populum* – surely meaning a broader community of worshippers, both ordained and lay. Regrettably, we have no other source in the liturgical books from which to gather an unambiguous explanation of the audience. We can also only speculate on the language in which this sermon was preached: Latin (most probably), possibly German or Czech? It should be added that Gregory the Great himself could have been quoted in this sermon, as we can see, for example, in Hus's *Postillas*, where Gregory is quoted in the text for Advent Sunday as well as in sermons for other days in the liturgical year.³⁸ The chant (again: antiphon) *Gregorius presul* comes after the sermon, but the importance of this part of the liturgy has obviously been heightened as no longer *cantores*, as in the older tradition, but, rather, two priests (*presbyteri*) are now to be the performers. We must imagine what such a change had on the visual effect of the liturgy as a whole: two priests (probably vested in copes) ascending the pulpit and proclaiming Gregory's legacy would doubtless appear much more splendid to the gathered community than two cantors in their more modest vesture. The "antiphon" *Gregorius presul* appears here to have a clear function: it stands between the mass and its preceding ceremonies as a conclusion of, and probably even the culmination of, one part of the liturgy and, at the same time, as the transition to the mass itself. Furthermore, the information in the rubric brings us back to Missal PrM XVI D 16 where the unusual placement of *Gregorius presul* next to the *Kyrie* and *Gloria* incipits can be now be easily explained: they all represent chants which the priest should intone – including, in the case of the unknown owner of this Missal, *Gregorius presul*.

Having explained this, it seems fairly obvious why the chant *Gregorius presul* did not disappear from the liturgical repertory in the Bohemian tradition but continued as a stable part until the outbreak of wars of the Bohemian Reformation

³⁸ See, for-example the Sermon for Advent Sunday of Jan Hus in the *Postilla Adumbrata* [MIHO,13] 19f.

and long after. To discard *Gregorius presul* as an “out-of-date” chant would have had an undesired impact on the shape of a prominent liturgical ceremony; it is hard to imagine the first mass of Advent beginning with its introit *Ad te levavi* immediately after a sermon.³⁹ From this point of view, we should not understand the later tradition of *Gregorius presul* as a “conservative” or “old-fashioned” element – an attribute which too often appears in connection with the Prague liturgy – but as a result of a singular and, to a certain extent, unique development. The melody and the words of the chant remained without serious modifications. However, its form and particularly its function changed fundamentally.

This specific part of the Prague liturgy must be considered in the wider contemporary context outside Bohemia. If the non-Bohemian sources reflect the real state of the liturgical repertory in other European regions,⁴⁰ Prague would have been the only place where Gregory the Great was still proclaimed as the author of the chant repertory for the whole liturgical year long after the practice had ceased elsewhere. Bearing in mind the plans of Emperor Charles IV and Prague’s first archbishop, Arnošt of Pardubice, to raise the importance of Prague and the Prague diocese on the stage of ecclesiastical politics, along with their masterful skills of using old symbols in a new context to achieve their purpose,⁴¹ we can surely speculate that there was “something more” behind the elevation of the importance of *Gregorius presul* during the liturgy of Advent Sunday in the second half of the fourteenth century. While performing the text about founding the famous Roman *schola cantorum* we almost can imagine that in this moment, the newly-built Prague Cathedral should be a place where the sacred legacy was still preserved and remained in use. This surely would be another strong tool in Charles’s and Arnošt’s hands which could be used to persuade the broader ecclesiastical and political community of the exclusive position of St. Vitus’s Cathedral in the region of Central Europe. And, what is more, the possible concept of St. Vitus’s Cathedral as the custodian of the old chant tradition would help to explain the old and difficult question of why the liturgical repertory did not include any of the newer medieval polyphony (in the *ars nova* style) but remained strictly monodic, with strong conservative elements.⁴²

The elevated position given to *Gregorius presul* in the Prague liturgy in the second half of the fourteenth century seems to have had a strong impact on surrounding regions. Firstly, as one might expect, *Gregorius presul* is found in late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century sources coming from Olomouc Diocese. As a suffragan see to Prague, Olomouc had always been strongly influenced by the Prague Use and we cannot excluded the possibility that this part of the liturgy had

³⁹ In this context, it would be very interesting to follow the sermons for Advent Sunday in the contemporary collections.

⁴⁰ There does remain the possibility that many churches continued to use older books containing the trope *Gregorius presul* thereby prolonging the period of its liturgical use.

⁴¹ There is a considerable literature dealing with Charles IV’s legacy to both the Bohemian Kingdom and the Holy Roman Empire. See most recently Marie Bláhová, “Královský majestát Karla IV,” [The Royal Majesty of Charles IV] in: *Lesk královského majestátu ve středověku*. Pocta Prof. PhDr. Františku Kavkovi, CSc. k nedožitým 85. narozeninám, ed. Lenka Bobková and Mlada Holá (Prague, 2005) 15-33.

⁴² On the liturgical repertory in St. Vitus’s Cathedral, see Hana Vihová-Wörner and Jaromír Černý, “Hudba v době Karla IV,” [Music in the time of Charles IV] in: *Lesk královského majestátu*, 291-305.

also had a longer tradition there. However, as an Olomouc Missal from the end of the fourteenth century illustrates, the performance of *Gregorius presul* remained a much soberer event there. [see Example 4]:

Example 4

Missale from Olomouc, Cod. Holm. A 177, f. 6r

Ante introitum misse duo pueri voce excelsa cantent antiphonam Gregorius presul

meritis. Qua finita duo rectores vel vicarii subiungunt introitum Ad te levavi.

Again, *Gregorius presul* is entitled an *antiphona* in the Olomouc Missale. Accordingly, another source from the beginning of the fifteenth century representing the Olomouc/Prague liturgy (the so-called Wrocław Gradual),⁴³ concludes the noted inscription of *Gregorius presul* with a *differencia* (E-U-O-U-A-E). Thus, both sources confirm that the formal modification of the chant *Gregorius presul* made its way out of Prague. In Olomouc, however, it is not two priests as in Prague but two boys who were appointed to sing the chant. Evidently, the sound quality of the performance (it is emphasised in the rubric that the boys are to sing *voce excelsa*, which can be translated as “in a high voice” or “in a loud voice”) had priority over the ceremonial importance of the moment. This is an important witness from the contemporary context serving as another argument for an elevated function of *Gregorius presul* in Prague.

Interestingly enough, another contemporary witness to the insertion of *Gregorius presul* in the Advent liturgy can be found west of Prague diocese. The chant introduces the repertory of the Mass Proper in the well-known Gradual from the Augustinian Monastery of Moosburg from the middle of the fourteenth century (f. 2r) providing the sole witness to this chant in the late-medieval South-German region.⁴⁴ It seems clear that such a resurrection of an old chant in the Moosburger repertory would have happened under the strong influence of the contemporary Prague Use – especially if we consider that *Gregorius presul* appears here in the same textual reading as in Prague sources and, in accordance with Prague Use, written along with a *differencia*, as an antiphon chant.⁴⁵

⁴³ MS Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, B 1714, see Pavel Brodský: *Iluminované rukopisy českého původu v polských sbírkách*, (Prague, 2004) No. 37 (pp. 116-7) and Emil Wyszogrodzki, “Analiza źródłoznawcza rękopisu muzycznego ms. B 1714 z Biblioteki uniwersyteckiej we Wrocławiu,” in: *Muzyka religijna w Polsce*. [Materiały i studia VII] (Warsaw, 1985) 237-388.

⁴⁴ MS Munich, University Library, ms. 2°156, the so-called Moosburger Graduale. See Haug *op. cit.* No. 054. Facsimile see *München, Universitätsbibliothek, 2°156. Faksimile*. Mit einer Einleitung und Registern herausgegeben von David Hiley, Tutzing: Schneider 1996 [Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft für Bayerische Musikgeschichte s. n.] IX. Such an unusual constellation gives reason to believe that the resumption of the old chant happened due the growing influence of Prague.

⁴⁵ The rubric before *Gregorius presul*, however, designates the chant as a trope: *Tropus in totum graduale sancti Gregorii pape* (f. 6r).

The transmission of *Gregorius presul* continued well into the Utraquist period after the wars of religion to the end of the fifteenth and into the first half of the sixteenth century. It can be traced in the liturgy of the Prague Church and other *sub una* churches and, of course, in the liturgical books of Utraquist Literary Brotherhoods.⁴⁶ There is, however, no systematic use in the selection of the chant in either tradition. For the church *sub una*, the days of this chant, along with its possible secondary political importance, effectively died with the outbreak of the Bohemian religious wars.

III.

Gregorius presul in Utraquist Liturgy

Utraquism's faithfulness to the Prague Use of the Roman Rite was often appealed to by Utraquists as a mark of their antiquity as a tradition and as a proof of the legitimacy of their claims. Among the justifications of the lay chalice and the communion of infants was that both appeared in liturgical sources found in Prague. Loyalty to the inherited liturgical tradition was a foundation stone of Utraquism itself. It should not come as a surprise then that the use of *Gregorius presul* and its attendant complex ceremonies on Advent Sunday was retained in Utraquism even though the text and its liturgical observance had long disappeared from other diocesan Uses outside Bohemia and Moravia. A Missal made for St. Vitus's Cathedral during the time its Utraquist administration under Bishop Augustine Sancturien (1484-93) contains rubrics and liturgical texts similar to those cited above in the Prague Missal.⁴⁷ This is something that should not be surprising given Utraquism's faithfulness to the Prague Use of the Roman rite as an intentional symbol of Utraquism's self-understanding as a continuing part of the Western Catholic Church.

During the Utraquist period there would have been widespread consciousness of Gregory's alleged place in the musical tradition of the Roman rite. The legend of Gregory's formative musical role in the church and his authorship of the Antiphonary was retold in James of Voragine's *Legenda sanctorum* (commonly called the *Legenda aurea*). The *Legenda*, which was widely circulated in Latin both in manuscript and later in print, had also existed in a Czech translation since the fourteenth century. This translation was published in 1495 along with an Utraquist supplement containing the passion of Jan Hus among other texts.⁴⁸

Over time, however, the liturgical use of *Gregorius presul* seems to have begun to fall into desuetude in Utraquism just as it had done in Sub-unism. This took place in stages. First to disappear was the procession with its constituent rites which seem to have disappeared first from general Sub-unist use sometime before

⁴⁶ See the list and edition of the trope from selected Bohemian sources in RTB I, n. 1.

⁴⁷ MS Prague, Strahov DG III 20 f. 11a.

⁴⁸ Jakub Voragine, *Legenda aurea*. Český výbor. Anežka Vidmanová ed. , (Prague, 1998).

the end of the fifteenth century. The printed Prague missals (which are of Sub-unist origin, the earliest of which dates to 1479) contain no mention of the procession nor of other rites before the Introit. The Utraquist St. Vitus Missal, which postdates the printed missals of 1479 and 1489, however, gives evidence that these practices were retained in Utraquism and the prologue *Gregorius presul* along with its attendant ceremonies remained a part of Utraquist use. An Utraquist gradual dated to 1523⁴⁹ retains both noted texts each beginning with an historiated initial depicting Gregory composing [Fig. 2]. In some manuscripts, both texts appear but with only one historiated initial – again of Gregory – but used for the Introit *Ad te levavi* and not immediately associated with the text *Gregorius presul*. The presentation on the page thus emphasises the liturgical importance of the Introit over that of *Gregorius presul*. [Fig. 3] There are also witnesses to the ongoing use of the text *Gregorius presul* but with the notated text detached from the Advent liturgy altogether such as that contained in a gradual from Hradec Králové [Fig. 4].⁵⁰

During the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the text *Gregorius presul* (even without the attendant ceremonies) appears to have lived a precarious life in which liturgical language was a determining factor. In Utraquist parishes in which the liturgical texts continued to be sung in Latin, singing the Gregorian attribution at the beginning of Advent appears to have continued. In these parishes it seems to have become a part of the rich musical tradition that marked the Advent season in Bohemia with its melody signalling the arrival of Advent which brought with it the *Rorate* masses and an extensive corpus of Advent hymnody. In parishes where Czech had come to be the language used for the sung liturgical texts, *Gregorius presul* appears not to have been sung. (There are no extant witnesses to a Czech translation of the text.) This is, perhaps, not surprising. In places where the liturgical texts would have been understood by the average parishioner, it would have seemed quite odd to sing a rubric attributing the authorship of the liturgical texts to Gregory the Great on the Advent Sunday (just as odd as it would sound today to sing the title page of the Missal of Paul VI at the beginning of the liturgy on the First Advent Sunday!). Our only witness to a living memory of *Gregorius presul* in a Czech-language liturgical book is in a gradual made for the Church of St. Martin in Sedlčany⁵¹ sometime around the middle of the sixteenth century. As one of the running page titles, f. 4a is headed *Gregorius presul meritis*. [Fig. 5] What follows on the page, however, is not a Czech version of *Gregorius presul* but, instead the Advent Antiphon *Probuděž se sprawedliwi*. *Gregorius presul* remains as substitute name for Advent Sunday even though the text from which the Sunday took its name was no longer sung (not unlike the widespread Lutheran practice of calling the Sundays of Lent and Paschaltide by the incipits of the Latin introits [*Invocavit*, *Quasimodo geniti* & c.] even though the introits themselves have disappeared from

⁴⁹ MS New York, General Theological Seminary BX 2043 A3 H8 ff. 25b-26a. [Graham No. 48.]

⁵⁰ MS Hradec Králové, Muzeum východních Čech Hr-5 (II A 5) f. 26b where the notated text stands as an independent piece in a supplement to the ordinary where it is lodged between propers for Corpus Christi and an earlier fragment containing propers for Christmas.

⁵¹ MS Sedlčany, Městské muzeum M4 [Graham No. 121].

liturgical use). For Utraquists who sang in Czech rather than Latin, *Gregorius presul* had become the smile on a liturgical Cheshire cat: the cat had long disappeared and only the smile remained!

IV.

Examples of Figural Initials with St. Gregory in Bohemian Liturgical Books of the Fourteenth through the Sixteenth Centuries.

The Fundamental Iconography

As a complement to the liturgical and musicological treatment of the trope *Gregorius presul*, we shall note in a concise presentation the iconography of St. Gregory in the initials that may be found at the beginning of the *temporale* in certain liturgical manuscripts from the Bohemian milieu of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries.

St. Gregory, one of the four Church Fathers of the Western Church was frequently depicted in ecclesiastical art. His main attribute is the dove of the Holy Spirit near his head, symbolizing the divine inspiration of the liturgy and church songs that he was believed to have composed. According to the *Golden Legend*, Gregory's closest friend, Deacon Peter, extolled his books on the grounds that many a time he had seen the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove hovering above the saint's head, Peter is himself at times present in the images, as a proof of the authenticity of his testimony.⁵²

The images depict several episodes from the legend of St. Gregory.⁵³ The depictions in the initials at the beginning of liturgical books do not have a uniform iconography. St. Gregory appears most frequently as a pope with the tiara, in a scarlet cappa magna, and with a papal crosier with three cross beams. The custom of depicting the saint with the papal insignia dates only to the later Middle Ages; earlier he was shown bareheaded with a tonsure and, later, with a miter.⁵⁴

St. Gregory is most often depicted in liturgical books with writing implements at a writing desk as an author of liturgical and musical texts. This type of portrayal, showing an author – a writer, a philosopher, or a poet – at the start of his work, had a very old tradition that persisted until the end of the Middle Ages. Its roots reach at least into the early Hellenistic period when three basic iconographic types could be distinguished. The first depicted the author's bust in a medallion, the second "a dialog with the Muses," and the third, a seated author depicted, as a rule, while

⁵² Jakub de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, tr. Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger (New York, 1941) 188. Hannelore Sachs, Ernst Badstübner, and Helga Neumann, *Christliche Ikonographie in Stichworten* (Leipzig, 1980) 157.

⁵³ James Hall, *Dictionary of Themes and Symbols in Art* (London, 1974) 142-3.

⁵⁴ Hannelore Sachs, Ernst Badstübner, and Helga Neumann, *Christliche Ikonographie in Stichworten* (Leipzig, 1980) 157.

writing or immersed in thought. It was the last type that Christian art adopted initially for the depiction of the Evangelists and subsequently also for other biblical figures. Church Fathers were depicted in the initials in the same manner – most frequently St. Jerome, as a translator of the Bible into Latin, and, then, St. Gregory as the believed author of the sacramentary.⁵⁵

In the initials of the liturgical manuscripts of Bohemian provenance from the period that interests us, we find two basic iconographic types of the saint. The first one portrays him as an author seated at a desk; the second one, as either a teacher of the church standing or sitting with a mentor's hand gesture. The saint usually appears without the papal crosier. He may or may not be surrounded by an aureole. Other iconographic variations in the initials include the saint standing with a gesture of blessing, St. Gregory kneeling, or the mass of St. Gregory.

The Location of the Saint in the Decorative Framework

The musicological part of this article about the trope/antiphon *Gregorius presul* explains the function of the text and the fact that it appears only in some of the liturgical books. Its appearance in some of the graduals of the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries is the manifestation of a very conservative tradition. If the liturgical book does not contain the introductory trope, the temporal begins with the introit for Advent Sunday: *Ad te levavi*.

The next question to deal with is the location of the initial with St. Gregory in the framework of the decoration at the beginning of the temporal. One is likely to expect that, in the text with the introductory antiphon, the saint would appear in the initial *Gregorius* that is in a direct connection with the text that commemorates the saint. Surprisingly, St. Gregory's image is found in his proper initial *Gregorius* rather as an exception, and the place, where the saint's image appears most often, is in *Ad te levavi*. Gregory's image shifts from the initial *Gregorius* to the following initial, and then the initial *Gregorius* tends to be decorated just ornamentally. There is, however, a reason for placing St. Gregory's image in the initial *Ad te levavi*. Also here the saint is depicted as the author of the musical text, even though his name does not directly appear in the text – unlike in the text *Gregorius presul*.

Examples of St. Gregory's Depictions

Now let us illustrate the discussed characteristics with concrete examples from which they derive. The Smíškovský Gradual (1490-1) is an example of a manuscript that contains the text *Gregorius presul*, but its initial is decorated just ornamentally. The saint's figure is located in the initial *Ad te levavi*.⁵⁶ Iconographically, it is a matter of depicting the saint as an author of the musical

⁵⁵ *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, Engelbert Kirschbaum ed. (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1994²) 1:232-234.

⁵⁶ MS. Vienna, ÖNB Musiksammlung Mus. Hs. 15492 [Graham no. 128] f. 46a.

texts, who sits at the writing desk with an open book, a pen, and the dove of the Holy Spirit close to his ear. The initial *Ad te levavi* with the writing saint, this time without the dove, appears also in the Gradual of Hradec Králové (1471),⁵⁷ containing the trope *Gregorius presul* with an ornamental initial, and we can see the saint at his desk in the initial *Ad te levavi* also in the Gradual of Havlíčkův Brod (1506).⁵⁸ [Fig. 6]

Another type of depiction has been preserved in the Gradual of Mladá Boleslav (c. 1509)⁵⁹ and in the Gradual of Esztergom (1505-1510).⁶⁰ The two images are by the same painter and almost identical. The saint is depicted in the initial *Ad te levavi* as a teacher of the church. He is seated on an architectonic throne, sandwiched between the figures of a cardinal and a bishop. Gregory's right hand rests on a book in his lap; the left hand is raised in the gesture of a mentor. [Fig. 7]

The Gradual of České Budějovice (late fifteenth century) again depicts St. Gregory in the initial *Ad te levavi*.⁶¹ In his left hand, he holds a large closed book, resting on his knee. He points to the book with his right hand and thus appears as a teacher and the author of a text that should be passed on. As a further variant, preserved in the oldest manuscripts, St. Gregory stands with a gesture of blessing and with the papal crosier. We find this type of depiction in the initial *Ad te levavi* of two missals in the National Museum Library that date to the third quarter of the fourteenth century.⁶² St. Gregory can also be depicted kneeling in prayer, apparently in the role of an intercessor. He is thus portrayed in the Jičín codex (c. 1470)⁶³ in the initial *Ad te levavi* [Fig. 3] despite the fact that the trope *Gregorius presul* can also be found in this volume. The trope is again introduced by an ornamental initial.⁶⁴ Another example of an initial with the standing saint is in the Gradual of the Metropolitan Chapter Library (1551).⁶⁵ This time, as an exception, the image is placed in the initial *Gregorius presul*, while the initial *Ad te levavi* is adorned by a figural ornament of the donor.

An exception in the pictorial adornment of the initials may be noted in the Gradual of St. Mark's Library in New York (1532),⁶⁶ in which both initials are decorated with figures, each one by a different painter. [Figs. 8a, 8b] The initial *Gregorius* bears (on f. 25b) an image of the saint as a cardinal, which is for his iconography rather unusual. Such a depiction is routine for St. Jerome, but it has textual support even in the case of St. Gregory in the *Legenda aurea*, according to which the saint had been appointed cardinal-deacon in Rome.⁶⁷ The following initial on the opposite folio 26a renders the saint in the usual manner as a seated pope,

⁵⁷ MS. Hradec Králové, Muzeum východních čech Hr 2 [Graham no. 14] f. 21b.

⁵⁸ MS. Hlavičkův Brod, Okresní vlastivědné museum SK2/1 [Graham no. 13] f. 40a.

⁵⁹ MS. Mladá Boleslav, Okresní muzeum, MS. II A 1 [Graham no. 44] f. 42a.

⁶⁰ MS. Esztergom, Főszékesegyházi könyvtár I. 1. 3 [Graham no. 12] f. 11a.

⁶¹ MS. České Budějovice, Jihočeské museum R 356 [Graham no. 7] f. 15a.

⁶² MS. Prague, KNM XVIII E 16, f. 4a (a Prague Missal prior to 1365) and MS. Prague, KNM XIII B 8 f. 16a (the Missal of Sister Agnes from the 1370s).

⁶³ MS Jičín, Statní okresní archiv, fond Archiv města Sobotky, 1497-1945 (1951) kniha 11, Inv. Č. 22 [Graham No. 25] f. 13a.

⁶⁴ A similar illumination can be found in MS Jičín, Statní okresní archiv, fond Archiv města Sobotky, 1497-1945 (1951) kniha 9, Inv. Č. 20 [Graham No. 24] f. 40a (c. 1525).

⁶⁵ MS. Prague, Library of the Prague Castle, MS P. X. [Graham no. 103] f. 30a (the 1530s).

⁶⁶ MS. New York, General Theological Seminary BX 2043 A3 H8 [Graham no. 48] ff. 25b, 26a.

⁶⁷ Jakub de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, tr. Ryan and Ripperger, 179.

writing in an open book by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit who is sitting on the saint's right shoulder near his ear.

Depictions in Other Contexts

The mass of S. Gregory is the iconographic depiction of a eucharistic miracle, which derives from the texts of Paul the Deacon and the *Legenda aurea*.⁶⁸ Since the fifteenth century, when this iconographic type had become rather widespread in Europe, this scene was usually depicted as an apparition of the Man of Sorrows above the altar at the moment of the sacrifice of the mass, at which point the celebrating St. Gregory knelt in front of the altar. The miracle was taken as a proof of the real presence in the eucharistic elements which was also the purpose of the image's transmission in this iconography.⁶⁹ The scene of the Mass of St. Gregory is accompanied, in the lower part of the folio, by an image of Hus at the stake. In this context with Gregory depicted on the same page as the Utraquist saint associated with the lay chalice, it is also possible to interpret the eucharistic scene as highlighting communion under both kinds which, in fact, had been the practice of the Western church at the time of St. Gregory.⁷⁰

It is of interest to compare the depiction from the initials of liturgical books with the manuscript of an entirely different character – the Jena Codex.⁷¹ We encounter there depictions of St. Gregory in three places in different contexts. It is as though the iconography were returning to the earlier types, when the saint was not yet depicted with the insignia of the papacy. He is portrayed as a bishop in a medallion in the City of God.⁷² In two other depictions the saint is portrayed as a simple monk. In the first of these, he defends poverty with James the Great;⁷³ in the second one, he defends the Law of God together with Sts. Matthew and Augustine.⁷⁴ In accord with Utraquist theology of clerical poverty, there is evidently a theological intention to emphasize in relevant places the saint's poverty during his monastic period, not his subsequent papal office. [Fig. 9]

In the liturgical manuscripts there is no difference in St. Gregory's depictions between Utraquist and Roman Catholic books. The Utraquists had remained loyal to the old iconographic traditions. On the contrary, in the *Jena Codex* the saint is not pictured as a pope but, rather, in the three pictures in which he is portrayed, he is twice depicted as a poor monk, thus demonstrating that the Utraquist milieu employed an iconography of the image that expressed the theological standpoint of the reforming party.

⁶⁸ Ibid. 114-115.

⁶⁹ Sachs, Badstübner, and Neumann, *Christliche Ikonographie in Stichworten*, 157.

⁷⁰ Jan Royt, Utravistická ikonografie v Čechách 15. a první poloviny 16. století [Utraquist Iconography in Bohemia in the Fifteenth and the First Half of the Sixteenth Century] in: *Pro Arte. Sborník k počtě Ivo Hlobila*. Dalibor Prix ed. (Praha, 2002) 199.

⁷¹ MS. Prague. Library of the National Museum [KNM]IV B 24.

⁷² Ibid. f. 12a.

⁷³ Ibid. f. 18b

⁷⁴ Ibid. f. 23b.

Gregorius presul had a long and curious history in which, from the outset, politics have played a significant role. A common liturgy for the Frankish kingdoms was to be a cornerstone in Charlemagne's reforms and the unification of his realms. The liturgical books he chose to impose needed unquestionable authority behind them. Hadrian I had assured him that the Sacramentary he had sent at Charlemagne's request was the work of his predecessor Gregory. This attribution was inscribed at the head of each sacramentary copied in the imperial scriptorium and re-enforced in the opening of the *Supplement*. John the Deacon's *Vita* of Gregory was sufficient assurance that Gregory had also composed the *liber antiphonarius*. Thus, *Gregorius presul* came to be inscribed at the head of the graduals circulated as part the Carolingian reform proclaiming Gregory as author. Gregory the Great, and not some lesser figure or anonymous scribe was the liturgical authority behind Charles the Great's reforms.

Over five centuries later, another Charles set out to reform his kingdom and to raise the place of Prague and its newly created archbishopric in the eyes of the world. This Charles believed himself to be Charlemagne redivivus and set out on a massive campaign to make his chosen capital, Prague, the centre of his realm. Is it not plausible to suggest that, in placing the image of Arnošt of Pardubice, Prague's first archbishop and Charles' ecclesiastical collaborator in the programme of reform, in the initial of *Ad te levavi* in his *editio typica* of the gradual [Fig. 1]⁷⁵ that, we are witnessing a not-too-subtile proclamation of Arnošt as Gregory redivivus? As we have seen – *Ad te levavi* and *Gregorius presul* were initials, if historiated at all, which usually contained a depiction of Gregory the Great. Arnošt's depiction in *Ad te levavi* could simply be honour being paid to the patron of the *editio typica*, but its visual message to those who knew the iconographic tradition in which the space was usually reserved for Gregory could not have gone unnoticed. Arnošt becomes the new Gregory – not as a composer of musical texts but, rather, as the restorer of the “ancient Gregorian” tradition. Thus, while *Gregorius presul* had fallen from use in the rest of the Western church, its place is assured at the head of the liturgical year of Prague's cathedral and diocese where the “ancient Gregorian” tradition has been restored – archaisms included.

The “politics of Utraquism” obviously differ from those of Charles' programme of renewal and prestige for the lands of the crown of St. Wenceslas. The “ancient Gregorian” tradition restored under Charles IV and Arnošt of Pardubice and which played an important role in the uniqueness of Prague's liturgical use served as a powerful tool in an emerging national identity within Utraquism in which faithfulness to the historic liturgical use of Prague played an important role.⁷⁶ Just as Charlemagne needed an unquestionable authority behind his liturgical reforms and for which he was able to point to the Gregorian “authorship” of both sacramentary and gradual, singing *Gregorius presul* with its unique liturgical ceremonies at the head of the liturgical year, proclaimed that Utraquism's liturgical use could also be

⁷⁵ See nn. 32-3 above.

⁷⁶ See David R. Holton, “Bohemia Speaking to God: the search for a national liturgical expression,” in: Milena Bartlová ed., *Media and Structures of Confessional Identity in the Czech Lands During the Late Middle Ages and early Renaissance (1380-1620)* (Prague, 2007) 95-124.

traced to Gregory himself – a claim that had ceased to be sung elsewhere in Europe when *Gregorius presul* disappeared from liturgical use. As has been shown above, this appeal to Gregorian authority also extended to the restoration of communion *sub utraque* – a fundamental symbol of Utraquist identity.

Whatever the reason, it is remarkable that the tradition of singing *Gregorius presul* appears to have continued in parts of Utraquism until its extirpation after Bilá Hora. As such, it marked a fidelity to “ancient liturgical tradition” which Utraquism could claim to be uniquely its own. The tradition had been lost in the Sub-unist use of Prague’s liturgical tradition and was certainly nowhere to be found in the “new rites” of the Missal of Pius V (the so-called Tridentine Missal). Gregory, as “author” of the gradual, was last feted in Utraquist parishes in Bohemia and, when singing this rubric-turned-antiphon ceased, the liturgical commemoration of Gregory and his work at the beginning of the liturgical year fell forever silent.



Fig. 1

Gregory redivivus? Arnošt of Pardubice in the initial *Ad [te levavi]*.
 MS Prague, Archive of the Prague Castle, collection of the Library of the
 Metropolitan Chapter at St. Vitus, P VII f. 1a



Fig. 2

Gregory as composer of liturgical texts. The unique example of Gregory figuring in the initials of both *Gregorius [presu]l* and *Ad [te levavi]*.

MS New York, General Theological Seminary BX 2043 A3 H8 ff. 25b-26a.

(Before the manuscript was badly damaged by fire.)



Fig. 3

Gregory as intercessor.

The disposition of the text emphasises the Introit *Ad te levavi* over the trope *Gregorius presul*.

MS Jičín, Statní okresní archiv, fond Archiv města Sobotky, 1497-1945 (1951) kniha 11, Inv. Č. 22 f. 13a.



Fig. 4

Gregorius presul detached from the Advent proper.

MS Hradec Králové, Muzeum východních Čech Hr-5 (II A 5) f. 26b.

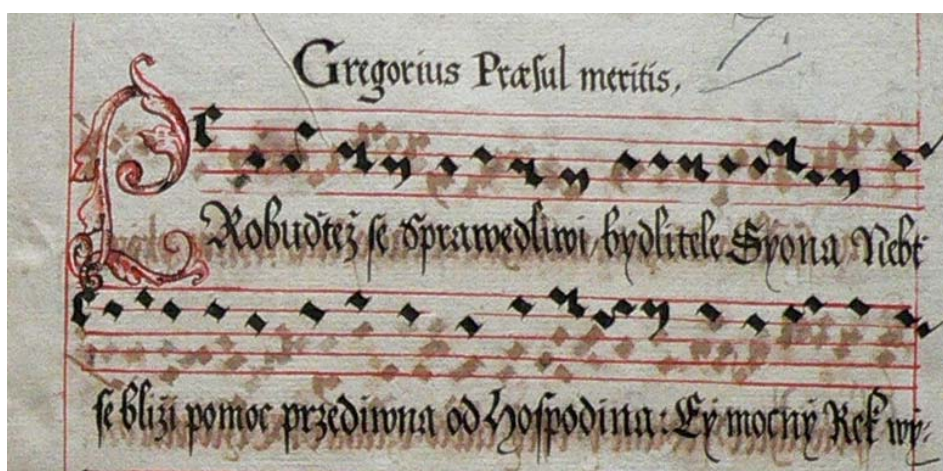


Fig. 5

A vestige of the tradition of *Gregorius presul*.

The only known witness to the trope *Gregorius presul* in a Czech-language text where it remains only as a title without the trope.

MS Sedlčany, Městské muzeum M4 f. 4a.



Fig. 6

Gregory composing a Gradual.

(Initial *Ad [te levavi].*)

MS. Hlávičkův Brod, Okresní vlastivědné museum SK2/1 f. 40a.

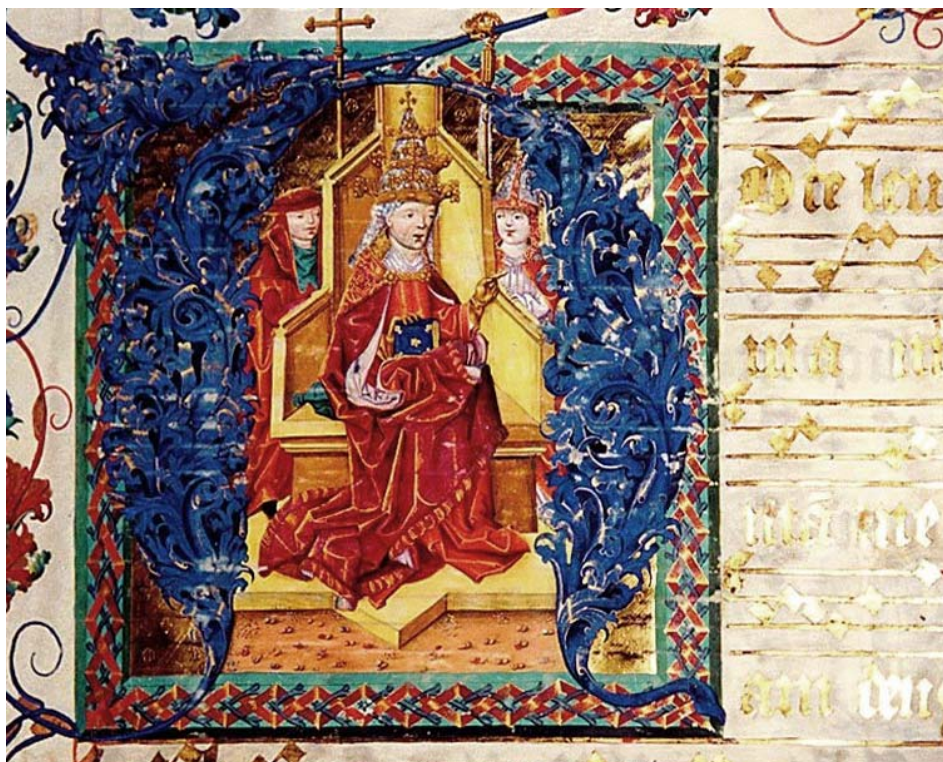


Fig. 7

Gregory as teacher of the church.

(Initial *Ad [te levavi]*.)

MS. Mladá Boleslav, Okresní muzeum, MS. II A 1 f. 42a.



Fig. 8a

Gregory composing as a cardinal.

(Initial *Gregorius [presul]*.)

MS New York, General Theological Seminary BX 2043 A3 H8 f. 25b.



Fig. 8b

Gregory composing as a pope.

(Initial *Ad[te levavi]*.)

MS New York, General Theological Seminary BX 2043 A3 H8 f. 26a.

(Manuscript shows fire damage.)

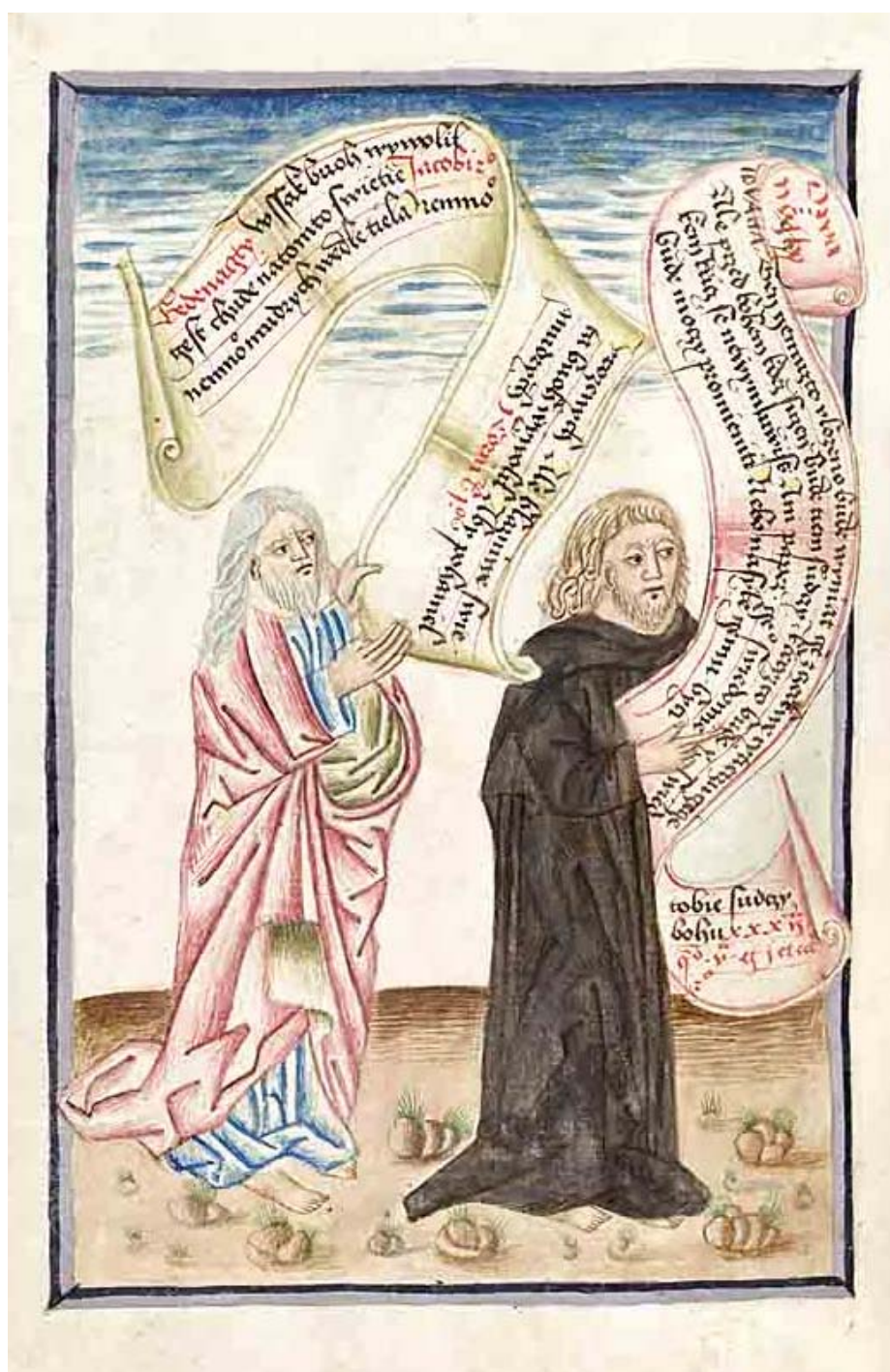


Fig. 9

Gregory (right) as a monk.

The Jena Codex: Prague, MS. KNM IV B 24 f. 18b.